1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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up, and as showing also the effect which modern conditions have on the social organization of primitive tribes. Incidentally, it would be interesting to know what regard, if any, missionaries pay to the local laws of exogamy in arranging marriages between converts, inasmuch as intermarriage of persons of the same social group is viewed by the natives as repulsive and incestuous, and people who contract such marriages are regarded as bringing pollution on the entire community.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally. A man may, therefore, marry a woman of his mother's ward; but the usual rule applies that he must avoid marrying any close relative of his mother, e.g. custom would not allow him to marry a maternal cousin for at least three generations. There is an organized system of elopement with married women which is regarded as a legitimate form of marriage, the parents of the woman being usually privy to the elopement, and entitled to receive a bride-price. The first husband (as among the Katab, etc.) has no redress. Wives may not, however, be abducted from men of the same town as the abductor, i.e. a man of Kwoi may not abduct the wife of another man of Kwoi, but he may abduct the wife of a man of the villages of Nok, Sambam, Chori, Kurmin Musa, etc., or of some neighbouring tribe. It is even permissible to abduct a girl who is betrothed to some other man. It was stated that the fiancée could not demand any compensation.

The commission of adultery was regarded as a moral offence entailing trouble not merely on the households of those concerned but also on the entire town. It had to be wiped out by sacrifice. It was customary before war for all the warriors to collect, and if any had committed adultery he had to make a confession. The guilty parties were forced to drink a mixture of beer, excrement (human and canine), certain leaves, and some of a woman's monthly discharge. This was believed to purge the "dirt" of the adultery.

I had no opportunity of making satisfactory investigations on the subject of emblems associated with the social groups. But it appeared that the leopard was specially associated with the Madaki's ward, which is known as "the ward of the leopard". No member of the ward may kill a leopard, but leopards killed by other wards are brought to them and eaten ceremonially (by the members of Madaki's ward). Thus if members of the

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38
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when the deceased *gado* is said to return to the *abwai* hut: beer drinking and dancing take place on alternate days; every spirit voice is heard, and two masked dancers, also described by Reynolds as "dodone," both mute, appear—one, *kusak* (Hausa, *kajinjiri*), who dances with the women of the community, and the other, *daniet*, who parades about at night in a ponderous leaf-covered frame of bamboo. During this entire period, male clothing is restricted to a plaited raphia penis-sheath. Though it has been suggested that neck-cords or *tswandik* are intended to remind women of their marital obligations, and serve to restrain them from contracting new secondary marriages, and though, as has been noted, sexual relations between a man and his brothers' wives is a ritual offence, Reynolds is still of the opinion that *aswa* is a period of sexual licence in the community. At the end of the period of celebration, each wife in the village gives the gathering of cult members a final pot of beer, around the neck of which her *tswandik* is fastened.[122]

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Religious Beliefs and Practices

The general character of indigenous Kaje religion will be apparent in the above account of rituals and other practices associated with the life cycle. Few additional details are available, and these add little to the picture.

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When the rains are overdue, the elders of the clan or tribal section meet at the local "rain 'tsafi' place," where the *atiyinhwap* performs a rain-making rite. Failure of this rite in past times brought a league of *atiyinhwap* of Banewhan, Batadon, and Baimbin to "inform" the *atiyinhwap* of Baiduan, who would perform similar rites on behalf of the whole tribe. For a number of years, however, only the *atiyinhwap* of Baimbin has persisted in carrying out these rites.

Acha-sowing rites, too, have fallen into disuse, apparently, except among Baimbin. If a trial sowing of mixed seed of the *atiyinhwap* sprouts satisfactorily, general sowing commences immediately; if not, *atiyinhwap* solicits offerings, presides over a feast of elders, and finally prays over the ground.

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Acha harvest rites, however, are still commonly practised throughout Kaje, according to Reynolds. These begin much like the rain rites, with the *atiyinhwap* spreading acha paste on the stone at the "rain-shrine": from the rain-shrine, however, he retires to his compound, where he applies paste to the huts, to the floor and walls of his own hut, and finally to his bed. Similar rites are performed in every compound early the next morning, when the compound head selects "a sensible youth who would first spread the paste on an old hoe and then on the grave of his grandfather." Thereafter, huts and cornbins are treated, the nearest cross-roads, and the waterhole; and the head of the compound is given paste to eat, and calls on God and his ancestors to bless them. The youth then eats some of the paste and divides the remainder between members of the compound. Only when these rites are performed can the new acha be used in the regular way as food.

The sanctions against murder, violence between groups or even within the minimal lineage and incest, are traditionally of a supernatural sort, and such crimes might be expunged by ritual purifications: for example, a murderer was expelled to Kagoma, where he served the senior ritual head there as a slave, in effect, for a year; he then retired to Kurmin Bi, where the senior Kaje *atiyinhwap* performed a rite readmitting him to the general Kaje community; he then underwent further rituals in his own village.[123]

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Theft and protracted debt were punished by fines; but the offended and offender were alike subject to oaths and ordeals credited with supernatural sanctions: these were administered by the priests and some are done still.

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[122] On the basis of available materials it is impossible to comment on the apparent discrepancy between Meek's and Reynolds' accounts: Meek understood that this or a nearly identical celebration was recurrent at two- or three-year intervals; cf. Katab, farther above.

[123] Rape and adultery appear to have been left up to the offended party to deal with: the death of the offender ended the matter.